

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 01060

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENTS OF JANUARY 24, 1978

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JANUARY 24, 1978

FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO WELCOME MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. CONGRESS ELWOOD HILLIS, WHO IS
TAKING PART TODAY IN THE MEETING OF THE DELEGATIONS AT THE
SOVIET-U.S. NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA ON THE LIMITATION OF
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

FOR AN EXTENSIVE PERIOD OF TIME IN THE COURSE OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF
MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES UNDER ARTICLE XII OF THE
DRAFT TREATY--ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION OF THE PROVISIONS OF
THE TREATY, AMONG OTHER THINGS BY THE TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS TO THIRD COUNTRIES.

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NON CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER ARE AMONG THE
CENTRAL ISSUES IN TERMS OF ENSURING THE VIABILITY AND
EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEW TREATY--BOTH NOW AND IN THE
FUTURE, BEARING IN MIND THE DURATION OF THE LIMITATIONS
BEING ESTABLISHED BY THIS DOCUMENT.

IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS THE USSR DELEGATION PROVIDED EXTENSIVE RATIONALE FOR THE SOVIET SIDE'S POSITION ON THIS ISSUE.

THE NECESSITY OF CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION OF THESE QUESTIONS IS DICTATED BY THE TASK OF CREATING A RELIABLE BASIS FOR EQUABLE AND STABLE RELATIONS IN THE AREA OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS LIMITATION. THE CONFIDENCE OF THE SIDES THAT THE OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE TREATY AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO WILL NOT BE WEAKENED OR CIRCUMVENTED IN ANY WAY, AMONG OTHER THINGS BY TRANSFERRING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WOULD ENSURE THE EFFECTIVENESS AND VIABILITY OF THE TREATY BEING WORKED OUT, AS WELL AS A FIRM BASIS FOR THE SUCCESSFUL CONDUCT OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ADOPTING FURTHER MEASURES LIMITING AND REDUCING STRATEGIC ARMS.

THE PROVISIONS ON THIS SCORE MUST CONTAIN SPECIFIC JURIDICAL OBLIGATIONS, WHICH ARE TO BE ONE OF THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEES OF THE STABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEW TREATY.

IT IS CLEAR, AFTER ALL, THAT IF THE POSSIBILITY FOR ACTIONS AIMED AT CIRCUMVENTION OF THE TREATY WERE NOT RELIABLY FORECLOSED, THIS WOULD MEAN RETAINING GROUNDS FOR ATTEMPTS TO ACQUIRE UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE IN SOME FORM
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OR OTHER, WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE VERY BASIS OF THE LIMITATIONS UNDER THE DOCUMENTS BEING WORKED OUT.

IT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY NOTED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT THE OBLIGATIONS ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER UNDER ARTICLE XII OF THE TREATY ARE ON PAR WITH THE COMMON TASK OF STRENGTHENING THE REGIME OF NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AS YOU KNOW, THE SOVIET UNION CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATES ADOPTION OF EFFECTIVE MEASURES AIMED AT ACHIEVING THIS GOAL. AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. TO THE EFFECT THAT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MUST NOT BE TRANSFERRED TO OTHER STATES WILL BECOME A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOLUTION OF THIS URGENT QUESTION AS WELL.

AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF STATES POSSESSING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AND A BUILDUP IN THEIR STRATEGIC POTENTIAL BY OBTAINING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS OR ASSISTANCE IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT FROM STATES-PARTIES TO THE TREATY BEING WORKED OUT, WOULD LEAD TO GROWING INSTABILITY IN THE WORLD, AND WOULD THEREBY INCREASE THE THREAT OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR. AND YET, THE OBJECTIVE OF THE COMMON

POLICY OF OUR TWO STATES IS TO PREVENT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT.
THUS, THE ALREADY AGREED PROVISIONS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT
OF PRINCIPLES AND BASIC GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIA-
TIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS
SPECIFY THAT IN THE COURSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS THE
PARTIES WILL CONTINUE, FOR THE PURPOSES OF REDUCING AND
AVERTING THE RISK OF OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR, TO SEEK
MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN STRATEGIC STABILITY. ADOPTION
ALREADY NOW OF OBLIGATIONS AIMED AT PREVENTING POSSIBILI-
TIES OF CIRCUMVENTING THE NEW TREATY BY, AMONG OTHER

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EXDIS

USSALTTWO

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

THINGS, THE TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO THIRD
STATES OR ANY RECIPIENT WHATSOEVER, OR BY ASSISTANCE IN
THEIR DEVELOPMENT, WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO IMPLEMENTING THAT
TASK. SUCH OBLIGATIONS WOULD, OF COURSE, BE RECIPROCAL IN
NATURE.

THE SOVIET UNION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT A
PROVISION ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER IS AN
INDISPENSIBLE CONDITION OF THE TREATY.

AND THE FACT THAT TO DATE A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY
SOLUTION HAS NOT BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE AREA UNDER CONSIDERA-
TION IS AN UNNATURAL SITUATION, THE MORE SO THAT BOTH
SIDES, AS SHOWN BY THE RECORD OF DISCUSSIONS, IN PRINCIPLE,

PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT ANY ACTIONS AIMED AT
CIRCUMVENTING THE TREATY ARE INADMISSIBLE.

IN THE COURSE OF PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS, IN ORDER TO WORK
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OUT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE UNDERSTANDING ON THE CORRESPOND-
ING QUESTIONS, THE SOVIET SIDE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD, FOUND IT POSSIBLE TO AGREE TO
COMBINING THE PROPOSALS IT HAD TABLED EARLIER SEPARATELY
FOR ARTICLES XII AND XIII OF THE DRAFT TREATY WITHIN THE
FRAMEWORK OF A SINGLE ARTICLE.

IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS THE U.S. SIDE EXPRESSED
CONSIDERATIONS ON THE DESIRABILITY OF MAKING THE FORMULA-
TIONS OF ARTICLE XII MORE GENERAL IN NATURE. THIS HAS
BEEN STUDIED.

IN THE INTERESTS OF A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION TO THE
NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER QUESTION ON THE BASIS
OF MUTUAL ACCEPTABILITY AND IN ORDER TO MOVE AHEAD IN
REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT, THE
SOVIET SIDE PROPOSES THAT ARTICLE XII OF THE TREATY BE
AGREED UPON IN THE FOLLOWING WORDING:

- "ARTICLE XII

IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF
THIS TREATY, EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO TAKE ACTIONS
WHICH WOULD RESULT IN THE PROVISIONS OF THIS TREATY BEING
WEAKENED OR CIRCUMVENTED IN ANY MANNER, AMONG OTHER THINGS
BY TRANSFERRING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO THIRD STATES
OR ANY RECIPIENT WHATSOEVER OR BY ASSISTING IN THEIR
DEVELOPMENT."

IN THIS CONNECTION IT IS ALSO PROPOSED THAT AN AGREED
STATEMENT TO ARTICLE XII OF THE TREATY BE AGREED UPON IN
THE FOLLOWING WORDING:

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"AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE XII

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN
ARTICLE XII SHALL APPLY TO THE ARMS COVERED BY THE
TREATY AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO."

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE
NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE XII TABLED TODAY WILL BE
STUDIED BY THE U.S. SIDE CAREFULLY AND IN A CONSTRUCTIVE
SPIRIT. EARLE

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